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247 Most people say that this is done to protect the fruit from being eaten by parrots, but one man contradicted this statement when it was made in his presence, saying that the real reason was to make the skin of the fruit become yellow. The bananas are not gathered separately, but the whole tree is cut down and the 'rope' of fruit carried off to the house and hung up to be eaten at leisure.

I have no information regarding any magical procedure used to ensure the welfare of the banana crop, and, so far as I know, the cultivation is done without ceremonial.

Vegetables, other than taro

244 Yams are not cultivated to any great extent by the people of this district. There were none in any of the gardens belonging to the village of Kurtatchi. Some were obtained occasionally by barter. The people of Petats grew them, but they were not in season during the three months of my residence on that island, and I am not able to give any details as to the method of their cultivation.

The Petats people plant a variety of sweet potato, called *durun* in their dialect, which is tended in the same way as taro. A large stone, apparently an implement, was brought to me which its owner said he used to set up in the gardens to make the *durun* grow large. A hole is dug, and the stone is set upright in it. The owner was willing to let me have it because, having come under missionary influence, he did not intend to use it any more. The belief is that if this stone were not set up the *durun* would be small and unpalatable.

Rain-making

789 Since it is in connexion with their agriculture that the people are most dependent on the weather, and particularly on rain, this is perhaps the most appropriate place to give an account of the means which they adopt for regulating rainfall.

● 791 In every village there is at least one man, and often more than one, who is in the possession of the carefully guarded secret of the 566 procedure for making rain. Though they are often *tunaun*, the 562 knowledge may be possessed also by commoners, but it is restricted to men. With this goes also the regulation of wind. One very wet day was ascribed to the fact that a famous rain-maker had just died at Sapoea; as his 'skin' died the rain came down.

791 In the village of Kurtatchi the man most renowned as a rain-

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maker was Riamē, the brother of Matēv. One day he wished very much to accompany a party of us who were going to attend a wapi ceremony in a distant village. But Pinari said he must stay at home and make rain, because the taro was dying. So he did. It duly rained. He was teaching the procedure to his sister's son, Kakari, who would eventually take his place. Another man at Kurtatchi who had some reputation as a rain-maker was my next-door neighbour, Sobak. Both these men allowed themselves to be persuaded to let me into the secret, on my promising not to tell any of the other villagers. As the methods differ in certain important respects, and possess points of interest, the information obtained from both men is here given.

Rain-making as performed by Riamē.

Take five cleaned-out coco-nut shells. Pour some sea-water into them. Scrape the skin of the roots of two kinds of *sisiŋ* (croton, *Codiaeum variegatum*), and the root of *karawinoa* (*Acanthaceae*); take also some of the leaves of *karawinoa*, and the leaves and root of *takuruts* (another croton). Add all these things to the salt water in the coco-nut shells. Then get some of the watery sap of the *wirtsun* (a species of wild banana, which has a thick stem from which liquid squirts when it is cut). Take also some fresh water. Shake it up with the water from the *wirtsun*, and fill up the coco-nut shells with the mixture. The coco-nut shells then contain salt water, fresh water, the sap of the wild banana, and scrapings from the roots and leaves of plants. The coco-nut shells must have lines of *ois* painted on them cross-wise. When you fill them, put two leaves of *ta'un* (*Cordyline terminalis*) one on each side of the hole, and pour the liquid between them.

These coco-nut shells Riamē kept covered with leaves, at the roots of a big banyan a little distance from the village. Some distance from them, on the other side of the village, he had a box containing about a dozen stones, varying from about 3 inches to about a foot in length, roughly elliptical in section, and smooth-surfaced, as if water-worn, but not, I think, worked by hand. Outside the box were three very large ones, the largest perhaps 2 feet high, standing up on end, leaning against the box (Pl. 41*a*). He said he had found the three large ones himself on the beach of one of the islands in the bay. The others belonged to his grandfathers, and the grandfathers of other men of his generation,

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derivatives. They are not so highly valued, and less care is taken to keep them from the sight of women. They are used in the same way as the stone fish. One which I procured at Tabut (Pl. 42) had been set up in the shed in which the canoes were kept, with a hook attached to the mid-rib of a coco-nut leaf placed in its mouth. This was to make the bonito angry so that they would take the hook.

There is no mention of model fish in connexion with bonito fishing in the account given by Ivens for the SE. Solomons nor in that for Samoa by Te Rangi Hiroa. Their use in albacore fishing in the Society Islands is described by Nordloff (1930, p. 159), who says there were formerly models for almost every kind of fish. As in Bougainville, the head of the model must be kept turned towards the land to bring the fish close inshore.

In view of the fact, previously mentioned, that the fountain-head of the bonito magic was held to be the island of Pororan, I asked Mr. Gordon Thomas to investigate the matter there. He succeeded, with considerable trouble, in obtaining the following account, which he kindly gave me permission to incorporate here:

Atūn Magic. An account of the procedure adopted by the Pororan natives in order to bring the *atūn* fish into their fishing grounds. By E. L. Gordon Thomas.

The *atūn* (commonly called amongst the white population the 'king-fish') travels in shoals and frequents deep water. Its presence is invariably known by the large flocks of sea-birds hovering over the shoals in search of food. It is a fish that is highly prized amongst the Buka natives for eating purposes. It has no other value.

The magic employed is worked by one or two men who have been initiated into the mysteries by older relations, usually a cousin or a brother. There is a magic stone and a magic mixture of herbs and paint, which is used by the workers.

Timas, of Novar (Buka Passage), is the first one of whom I can find any record of having used this magic. The Pororan natives assert that he was the first man to use it. His time would be about sixty to seventy years ago, so far as I can ascertain. From him Pineri, of Pororan, became possessed of the secret, and he, in turn, passed it on to Nahu, who gave the secret to Sowi. It was from Sowi that I obtained the information here given. Sowi is a man of advanced years, somewhere in the vicinity of fifty years of age. He

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226 holds no official status amongst the natives, but is honoured for
●791 his ability to bring the *atŭn* into the Pororan fishing-grounds.

226 The magic stone, called by the Pororan natives *tokamu*, which
532 means 'not a long time', consists of a small replica of a fish, carved from a soft stone (somewhat similar to a sandstone) obtained from the mainland of Buka in one of the small rivers. It is usually about 6 inches long, 2 inches deep, and 1½ inches thick. Some of the stones are plain with no carving, others have a fish's mouth, eyes, fins, and tail carved roughly.

226 The magic mixture, *hirako* (which is the same name as that given
824 to magic potions, whether love potions or mixtures used when on raiding expeditions to send their foes to sleep), is a red powder, and contains crushed grass seeds (*sa'i*), the scraped inside bark of a tree (*hakala*), another inside bark of the *maluba* tree, a small quantity of the love potion (which is obtained from Hahon; the ingredients are not known to the Pororan natives), and the juice of the wild sugar, which is used to dampen the herbs. The seeds and scraped tree barks, together with the sugar juice, are placed in a pot over a slow fire and heated until the juice of the sugar is thoroughly absorbed by the herbs. After heating, a small portion of red oxide of iron (which is obtained from the Timputs or Baniu districts) is added to the mixture and then the whole is placed in the sun to dry. When dried it is placed in small leaf packages and securely tied with native string. These packages of mixture are prepared with great secrecy in the depths of the bush, careful watch being kept that no other men than those initiated are able to witness the operation. Usually sufficient mixture for about ten packages is prepared.

226 Before the actual working of the *hirako* the medicine man and his assistant repair to the bush and there gather the necessary leaves and bark for the preparation of the magic. These leaves and barks are made into a bundle, and, while the medicine man seats himself upon the ground and calls upon the spirits of departed medicine men to assist him in his work, the assistant slowly moves down on to the beach carrying the bundle upon his head. Arriving at the beach, he places it beneath stones, the leaves pointing towards the sea, the roots towards the bush. He then walks slowly around the bundle, and then walks into the sea and splashes his hands about in the water, making a noise similar to that made by the *atŭn* when they muster at sea.

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and its eyes cleared of any foreign matter, and a small portion of the magic mixture is placed in its mouth. This is to ensure that their eyes may see the hooks and their mouths hold the fish-hooks securely. 226

The steersmen and the men holding the bamboos chew the mixture while out in the *mon*, mixing it with betel-nut. The chewing of the mixture has a deteriorating effect upon the teeth. [164] (Sowi's teeth appeared in a decayed state, as though an acid had eaten away the enamel.)

When the catch is made all the *mon* converge to the spot where the medicine man is seated, and he then counts the fish, taking one from each *mon* for himself. With these fish he afterwards makes a small feast. Payment made to the medicine man for working the magic is not retained by him but expended upon food for a feast amongst his relations. [574]

It is customary that one man of each totem in a village has a knowledge of working the *atūn* charm. At present on Pororan there is only one man who has the knowledge. He is of the Kekeliau totem. The Naboin man has died without passing his knowledge on. 226 791

All the *tokamu* used in other parts of Buka come from Pororan, and the instruction is given by the man Sowi. His assistant is Hulaswat, who in turn will become the chief medicine man.

Other forms of bonito magic.

Besides the magic just described, which is intended to bring shoals of bonito into home waters, there are also numerous 'prescriptions' for obtaining a good catch for yourself or your own canoe. A selection of those in my collection is here given. The first comes from Petats, the others from Kurtatchi: 226

Bai'ia (a creeper, growing in the bush). (Petats dialect.)

Go to the bush and get some *bai'ia*. There are two kinds of *bai'ia*; only one of these will do, it is called *bai'ia hihisi kolot*. Bring it to the house. Stick the fishing-rod (*hiat*) into the ground in front of the house, so that it stands up over the house. Get the leaf of a kind of betel-pepper, not the same as is eaten with areca-nut but something like it. Chew it with areca-nut and lime; it makes the saliva red just the same as the real betel-pepper. Spit it out on to the *hiat*. 226 824

When you go to the bush to get the *bai'ia* you must go straight to it, walking quickly; you must not linger by the way. You must not search for it, but go straight to the place where it grows, and pull it hard. As you pull it up, call out: '*Atūn Pi*'.

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789 cease to be angry with you, chew *magor* and spit it in his direction,
778 then say to him: 'Why are you and I fighting?' Then he will feel
775 kindly towards you. It is interesting to note that the influence of *magor* is supposed to extend also to white men. When a visit from the District Officer is expected, the villagers of Kurtatchi chew *magor* and spit it around the place to ensure that he will not be angry with them! It will be seen that the power of *magor* is not specific, and I think it is fair to see the idea of *mana* underlying the use of this substance also. These two substances are the most precious possessions these people have, and are regarded as in a class different from, and ranking far above, the ceremonial currency in which they reckon their wealth.

● 791 Among the natives of North Bougainville, *mana* seems to belong
778 not so much to the individual who performs the ritual acts as to
789 the substance he uses. There are no persons set apart as 'medicine men' who have qualified for the post by long training or by undergoing ordeals. I am not aware of any word in these dialects which means a maker of magic, except in the case of black magic, which stands in a class by itself. Otherwise the distinction is between those who know the procedure and possess the requisite apparatus and those who do not. Thus, Sobak and Riamē were competent to act as rain-makers, Pinari was the specialist in dog magic, Minka in bonito magic, Pari in the treatment of sprains and broken bones, and so on. But Riamē could not make rain without his coco-nuts, nor Minka bring bonito without his stone fish. Again, in the description of the taro-garden ceremony given in Chapter IX it will be seen from incidents occurring in connexion with the proceedings that it did not greatly matter who actually took the principal part in washing the taro-stalks; the *ēto* was clearly regarded as the factor of primary importance.

789 There are some other substances which, while not themselves
823 *ēto*, are frequently used as adjuncts in various forms of magical
775 procedure. Among the most important of these is the red powder called *oin* (iron oxide) which, besides being used in personal decoration, as described in Chapter XI, also plays a part in a large number of 'medicines', both for rubbing on externally, and also for swallowing, in conjunction with the appropriate leaves, roots, or whatever it may be. It is to be noted that its virtue does not appear to lie in the fact that it is red, since there are other varieties of red 'paint' (*owaa* and *itʃu*, see p. 416) which are used for decorative purposes